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621 671 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

454 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a [180] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

191 871 555 "In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370-71).

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494 counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at [242] any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

613 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the 601 three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to [167] the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

● 178 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its 621 members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

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knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munşif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munşifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munşif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

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THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

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3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Munşif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

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The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munṣif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Wenlerse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munṣifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munṣifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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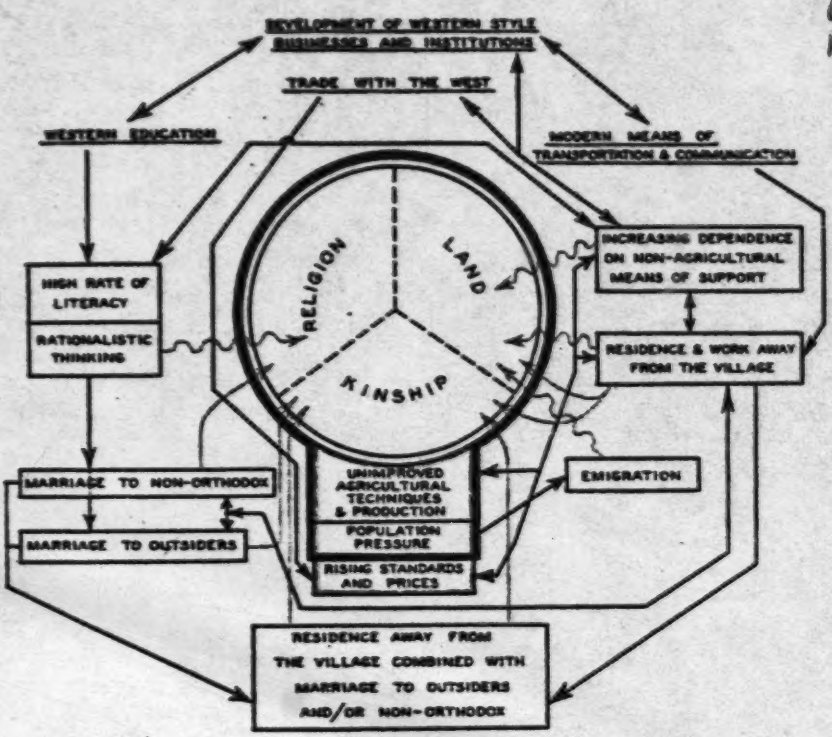
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF


DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN STYLE BUSINESSES AND INSTITUTIONS
TRADE WITH THE WEST
WESTERN EDUCATION
MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION & COMMUNICATION
RELIGION
LAND
KINSHIP
INCREASING DEPENDENCE ON NON-AGRICULTURAL MEANS OF SUPPORT
HIGH RATE OF LITERACY
RATIONALISTIC THINKING
RESIDENCE & WORK AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE
MARRIAGE TO NON-ORTHODOX
MARRIAGE TO OUTSIDERS
UNIMPROVED AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES & PRODUCTION
POPULATION PRESSURE
RISING STANDARDS AND PRICES
EMIGRATION
RESIDENCE AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE COMBINED WITH MARRIAGE TO OUTSIDERS AND/OR NON-ORTHODOX

LEGEND

- CULTURE ELEMENTS BEFORE WESTERNIZATION
- SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
- CHANGES EXTERNAL TO VILLAGE
- NEW FACTORS IN THE VILLAGE CULTURE
- DIRECTIONS OF INFLUENCE
- POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES
- ACTUALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES

FIG. 7

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sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munṣif the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munṣif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munṣif. We have seen that the Munṣifiin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munṣif, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

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SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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WE have seen that Munṣif has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation *within* the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions *outward*, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

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One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only* if it is small, and if it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-anthropo-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Ammar (1954; especially chap. 6).

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage *mash'a* (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munṣifiin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munṣif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE. CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1930, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

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figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Munṣif. Why?

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Munṣif have remained forceful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Munṣif, Spheres 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 5 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-seated and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of them creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village exogamy, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and so this behavior *in itself* is not, or has not so far been, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, if a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the affective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which now give, and always have given, rationale to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

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Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is neither perfect in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended:

In Hourani's words (1946, p. 59), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

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Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

*By Afif I. Tannous**

Abstract

167 Between 1700 and 1890, Bishmizzeen, on the northern slopes of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. 178 Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value. (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission. (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1885 and 1939, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mostly North and South America) and 23 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1890, Bishmizzeen, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una poblacion de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se minimó la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuído más a esta tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escapamiento del control cultural. Entre 1885 y 1939, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países estranjeros (mayormento a las Americas) y 23 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se dislocó seriamente, como la prueban las siguientes hechas observadas: (1) El control social se deshizo. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

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but adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Bishmizzeen and the whole of the Kura district.

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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

sent or would be sent to the folks at home. Sending the money home had a double significance to the emigrants. It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

4. *Emigrants fail to return to the village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

B.Tannous C,3-6 (no date) 1941
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head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

corresponding shift in the parent-child status relationship took place. Again, confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

7. *Other indications of disorganization:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

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Case 5 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the boy in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 8 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had instigated him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 9 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishmizzeen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

62/ This and several similar scandals
178 engaged the attention and gossip of the village for years. They went far in shaping the foreground of the village patterns of behavior.

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871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influential in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Rishmieneen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the 1st, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Munsif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Munsif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Munsif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Munsif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Munsif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Munsif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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25 specialists as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Munsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

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the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1952).

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621 seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous com-
178 parisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

621 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious,
178 and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social
142 security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

621 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is
582 the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such mar-
178 riages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

621 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family prob-
178 lems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation.
369 And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

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be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

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other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

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and new forms of human relationships are competing, and in many cases conflicting with the old folkways and mores. In some villages one can witness indications of severe disorganization. This state of affairs might be considered as an index of health and growth. It might, on the other hand, result in much disruption and cultural loss. Only tentative and partial experiments have been made to date in working out a progressive pattern for village life, as in the co-operative movement described above. This is a serious matter for Lebanon to consider, for its future development depends to a large extent upon the success with which its village communities adjust to the changing times without abandoning the fundamental role they have played in shaping Lebanon's national character.